In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes.

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land.

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3]

In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya

[Text continues TOP of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living.

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagano (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement.

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible.

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realised from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children.

824 [262] [430] [462] [494]

Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use, with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater, the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

241 262

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki) (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese, Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

[263] [252]

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L) is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment, or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in stripe in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs. [231]

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is white. [184] In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have seen weighed over 100 pounds. [221] It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce, [252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the [251] melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called namasuguu in Okinawan. 24 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō [a/]	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

226 most important.

226 (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitero in
136 Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught
[227] from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long.
262 The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is ex-
[435] pensive, selling from Y50 to Y100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds)
[432] depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of
[252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

226 (2) The tunny (subinoue in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This
136 fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways
[227] of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

226
136 (9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [207] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch
[414] 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-
[435] rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive.
[434] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's
[262] association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with
[227] a top bar: Ÿ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

A cutting line is then drawn over the surface of the stone. The worker straddles the cutting line, lifts the long bar up and down, making the cut along the line to the desired depth. It is slow and tedious work. 316

When the stone has been cut along a length of 6 or 9 feet and to a depth of about 14 inches, small holes along the bottom of the cut are made with a pick. These provide a hold for the wedges. Shavings or pieces of wood are put on either side of the wedges, three of which are used for a 6 foot length. The wedges are then struck seriatim with a sledge hammer and the stone is cracked across the bottom. When cracked, it is pried loose by the long bar, using the wedge as the fulcrum.

The cutting continues all day, or until the desired length and depth is reached for that particular cut. As the top layer is removed, the cutters go down deeper until they reach water, or until the seepage is too great to permit further cutting. Many times they cut 10 or 15 feet below the level of the surrounding land, stopping when the quality of the stone becomes poor. It may be black streaked, cracked, or have large fissures.

The long chisel is a relatively new addition to the tools of stonecutting. About 60 years ago, only the hand axe was used. This made the cut much rougher, compared with the clean cut of the bar chisel. After removal the block is rough on the lower edge. (Fig. 1) With gentle and slow chipping, this rough edge is smoothed off by the hand axe and the stone is ready for use. [413] 324

Three different types of stones are cut: (1) foundation stone (ishiji in Okinawan) used in housebuilding. This is the stone on which the poles supporting the eaves rest. At its base, the stone is about 16 inches square, at the apex about 14 inches, with a height of 9 inches to one foot. (2) Pyramidal stones with a square base (called kenchi both in Japanese and Okinawan). These are made from larger and imperfect cuttings or from odd shaped stones. They are chipped down and finished to the desired size. They are extensively used in breakwaters, and, occasionally in stone fences. When used as a breakwater, the stones are placed with the base toward the water, the apex being shoreward. The interstices may be filled with cement or clay. [333]

The block is the most important cut. It may be any length. When used in building construction, the blocks are generally about 9 feet long, one foot wide, and from 10-12 inches thick. These are called ishibashida (Japanese and Okinawan). In housebuilding stone, the width and the thickness are about the same, from ten inches to one foot on the side. In housebuilding the blocks are laid like bricks, so that joinings are not in the same vertical line. [333]

Cutters normally do not use the stone for personal use. More is to be gained by selling. This is done on an individual basis. 324 432

The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area, the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience, stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts, the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders. A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
[524] tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
526 favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
651 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
632 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facili-
ties. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden
plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting
house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people
gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher
brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted
¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese
war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came
back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit
of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return
brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and
bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates
in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal
at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look for-
ward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are
generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes
assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in
sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he
was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he
sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife
and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also
owns a truck.

One of the most respected household heads in Nanahan was sold when a boy. His poor Shuri parents sold him to rich Nanahan relatives, even though he was a first son. His relative, a woman who still lives there, had him work her fields for his support. However, she allowed him to work off-season as a day laborer, and he was permitted to keep his earned money. People commented: "He was and still is honest." 858 432

One of the consistent themes of Okinawan literature is the sale of children to Itoman. The practice continues today, perhaps in less intensive form. A grown man who now lives in Yamada was sold from Yamada to Itoman people when he was a boy. He returned to Yamada when the village was resettled after the war, considering that his time was up. He is one of the men who fish part-time, having learned something of fishing from the Itoman people.

Three boys at least were being held during our stay by an Itoman man. He and the boys move about quite a bit, but he has his home in Itoman. The boys, at least one of whom is from Ie Shima, call him "uncle". The boys are about junior high school age but are not in school. When a woman who knew about the situation was asked why this was not reported to the police, she expressed surprise at the idea. She did not know if the practice were illegal or not, and more or less defended the man---a relative by marriage---by saying that Itoman people had always done this. She added that the man treated the boys well, though she knows the stories about how badly the Itoman people treated the boys they bought in the past. One has run away several times but he always comes back.

One respondent, whose knowledge and intelligence command respect, says that both boys and girls are still being bought regularly from the off-shore islands. The boys are sold to fishermen, and the girls to brothel-keepers. He believes the treatment of the boys may be no better than it ever was but commented that at least they are learning a trade that they can follow when they are freed; the girls are more to be pitied. [548]

It is evident that the child of a very poor family cannot yet regard the traditional disciplinary threat---"If you don't be good, I'll sell you to Itoman"---as an idle one.